### Gallup Studies on

### **ELECTIONS 2002**

This volume is a collection of various papers prepared on Election 2002 in Pakistan.

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#### INTRODUCTION

Gallup Pakistan conducted a large scale Election Day Survey on the Election Day, 10<sup>th</sup> October 2002 across all four provinces of Pakistan, including Islamabad.

The 2002 election was held under the auspices of a military government and an annulled constitution. Leaders of two major political parties, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, were not allowed to participate in the elections. PPP registered itself under another name as PPPP (Parliamentarians).

Prior to the elections 43% expected the elections to be fair or somewhat fair while an equal percentage were not sure. Only 14% reported that they think the elections will be unfair or somewhat unfair.

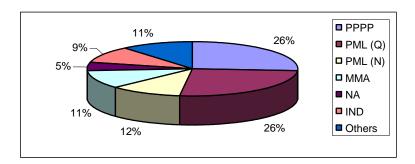
The findings are presented here in form of four reports. Report 1 analyses Pakistani vote banks, by provinces and profiles of major political parties. Report 2 is a detailed analysis of party share of voters across the country from 1988 to 2002. Report 3 reveals the voting pattern in Sindh by discussing the National Assembly Elections 2002, voting trends in previous elections, changing patterns of party dominance and urban-rural voting patterns. The final report in this series analyses the findings of the Exit Poll Survey.

The survey was conducted among a highly scientific sample comprising of 4680 adult men and women chosen from nearly 100 locations across the country. In each of the sample location, 50 interviews (25 male and 25 female) were supposed to be conducted at a male and female polling stations respectively.

Report # 1	
	An Analysis of <b>PAKISTANI VOTE BANKS</b> Data compiled by <b>Gallup Pakistan</b> on the basis of the provisional election results announced by the Election Commission of Pakistan.  November 2002

#### **VOTE DISTRIBUTION: ALL PAKISTAN**

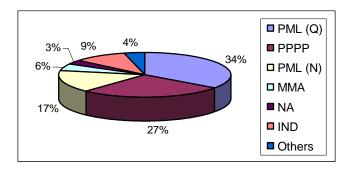
Party Name	Seats	<b>Obtained Votes</b>	%
PPPP	63	7,616,033	26
PML (Q)	78	7,499,382	26
PML (N)	15	3,370,748	12
MMA	45	3,335,643	11
NA	13	1,395,398	5
IND	28	2,722,669	9
Others	30	3,253,166	11
Total:	272	29,193,039	100



Unlike previous elections in which the winning party scored around 40% of the vote, no political party scored more than 26% of the total polled votes. The fragmentation of votes might however compel political parties to come to terms with each other. The fragmented vote may discourage the urge to dominate, because it is no longer possible.

#### **VOTE DISTRIBUTION: PUNJAB**

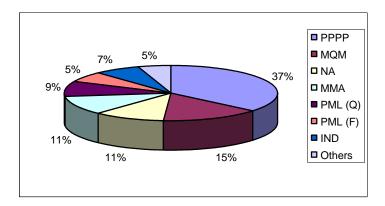
Party Name	Seats	<b>Obtained Votes</b>	%
PML (Q)	68	6,352,303	34
PPPP	36	4,972,486	27
PML (N)	14	3,092,317	17
MMA	4	1,036,950	6
NA	7	631,164	3
IND	14	1,686,467	9
Others	7	910,962	4
Total	150	18,682,649	100



Even though PML (Q) was a clear winner in terms of the number of seats, its edge in the popular vote is not very significant. It is notable that Peoples Party, despite its occasional oblique association with Sindhi nationalism won almost 5 million votes in Punjab which accounted for 65% of the votes polled by it in the entire country. The election results are likely to further encourage the party to retain its national character rather than being ghettoes as a Sindhi party. Likewise the MMA won only 3 seats in Punjab but over one million votes which accounted for 31% of votes won by it all over Pakistan. MMA should not be viewed as a party restricted to the two provinces bordering on Afghanistan, that is NWFP and Balochistan.

#### **VOTE DISTRIBUTION: SINDH**

Party Name	Seats	<b>Obtained Votes</b>	%
PPPP	27	2,213,201	37
MQM	14	929,535	15
NA	5	656,420	11
MMA	6	643,737	11
PML (Q)	4	540,630	9
PML (F)	4	328,264	5
IND	1	399,255	7
Others	0	332,806	5
	61	6,043,848	100

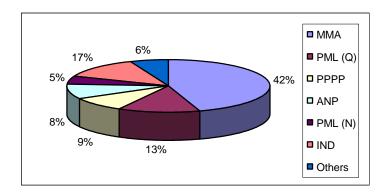


As in the past elections the voting pattern of the two urban centers of Karachi and Hyderabad was very different from the rural Sindh. MQM was the winner in the urban areas of Karachi and Hyderabad. MQM scored 38% followed by MMA 26% and PPP 18%. In the rural areas PPP scored 45% followed by the National Alliance (16%) and PML-Q (12%) as well as PML-F (8%).

But the important development was that both MQM and PPP lost the predominance which they had enjoyed in previous elections. This is particularly true for MQM. At its peak in 1990 MQM was 47% points ahead of the runner up suggesting a complete domination. In 2002 elections it was only 12% ahead of the runner up reflecting a more pluralistic situation in urban Sindh.

### **VOTE DISTRIBUTION: NWFP**

Party Name	Seats	<b>Obtained Votes</b>	%
MMA	29	1,409,344	42
PML (Q)	4	430,009	13
PPPP		300,683	9
ANP		283,112	8
PML (N)		154,835	5
IND	12	561,417	17
Others	2	197,229	6
Total	47	3,336,629	100

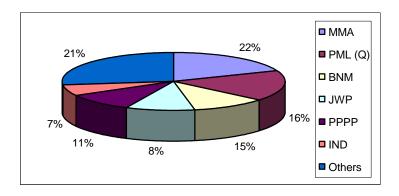


MMA emerged as a dominant political party and scored 42% of the total polled votes. The runner up was PML-Q with only 13% of the vote. The Awami National Party (ANP) which had traditionally identified with Pakhtoon nationalism scored only 8% of the polled vote. This was barely half as many votes as the party had polled in 1997 when it scored 19% of the polled votes.

Even though MMA owes its presence in the Parliament mostly to NWFP, its vote bench is dispersed in the other provinces as well. Interestingly, it is more evenly spread out in the four provinces compared to any other major political party (see details in tables on The Provincial Profile of Major Political Parties).

#### **VOTE DISTRIBUTION: BALOCHISTAN**

Party Name	Seats	<b>Obtained Votes</b>	%
MMA	6	245,612	22
PML (Q)	2	176,440	16
BNM		165,220	15
JWP	1	94,201	8
PPPP		129,663	11
IND	1	75,530	7
Others	4	243,247	21
Total	12	1,129,913	100



MMA scored 22% of the polled votes followed by PML-Q which scored 16%. The remaining 62% or two thirds of the vote was split among several parties. Thus Balochistan maintained its tradition of producing a highly fragmented result. But it was significant that the top two parties were both nation-wise parties. The purely provincial parties which did not contest elections outside Balochistan failed to make major impact during the election of 2002.

The decline of the exclusively provincial parties was a notable feature of the election of 2002 in Balochistan, NWFP and urban Sindh. In rural Sindh and Punjab such parties have no track record of success, a trend which was maintained in the latest election.

### THE PROVINCIAL PROFILE OF MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

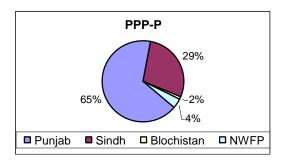
Number of Seats and percent of votes obtained by leading parties in the four provinces of Pakistan

#### **PAKISTAN PEOPLES PARTY**

Two thirds (65%) of all votes obtained by PPP were from Punjab as opposed to 29% from Sindh. This reaffirmed the position of PPP as a political party with national standing. It had however a setback in NWFP. Only 4% of its total vote was from NWFP and 2% from Balochistan.

**VOTE DISTRIBUTION: PPP-P** 

	Seats	Votes	% of votes
All	63	7,616,033	100
Punjab	36	4,972,486	65
Sindh	27	2,213,201	29
Balochistan		129,663	2
NWFP		300,683	4

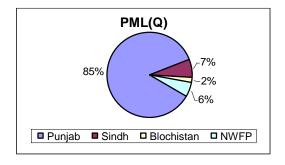


### **PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE-Q**

Despite emerging as the largest political party in the Parliament, PML-Q vote was heavily skewed from Punjab, as 85% of the total votes secured by PML-Q are from Punjab.

**VOTE DISTRIBUTION: PML(Q)** 

	Seats	Votes	% of votes
All	78	7,499,382	101
Punjab	68	6,352,303	85
Sindh	4	540,630	7
Balochistan	2	176,440	2
NWFP	4	430,009	6

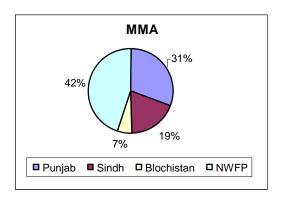


#### **MUTTAHIDA MAJLIS AMAAL**

The provincial profile of votes scored by MMA has a heavy skew in favour of NWFP. However it had sizeable number of votes in the remaining three Provinces.

**VOTE DISTRIBUTION: MMA** 

	Seats	Votes	% of votes
All	45	3,335,643	100
Punjab	4	4036,950	31
Sindh	6	643,737	19
Balochistan	6	245,612	7
NWFP	29	1,409,344	42

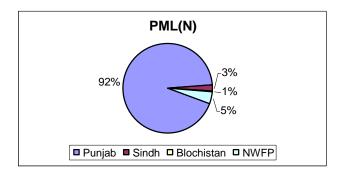


#### **PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE-N**

The heavy Punjab skew in the case of PML-N is even stronger compared to PML-Q, as 92% of its total votes are from Punjab.

**VOTE DISTRIBUTION: PML-N** 

	Seats	Votes	% of votes
All	15	3,370,748	100
Punjab	14	3,092,317	92
Sindh	-	96,971	3
Balochistan	1	26,625	1
NWFP	-	154,835	5

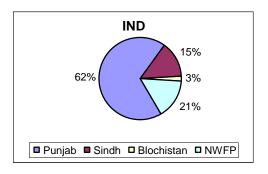


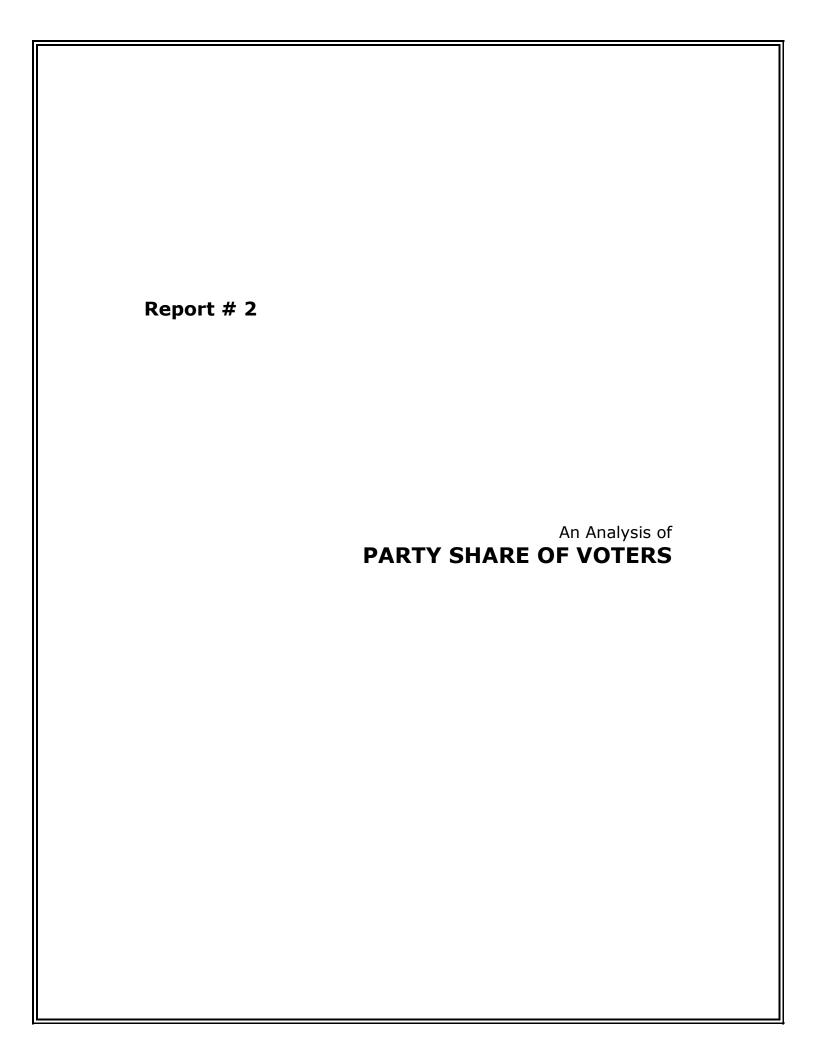
#### **INDEPENDENTS**

The vote polled by Independent candidates show that this category was fairly well dispersed in the four provinces of Pakistan. It was however higher then the proportion of the province in Punjab and lower in Balochistan and Sindh. In NWFP it was fairly close to the share of the province in the total votes.

**VOTE DISTRIBUTION: INDEPENDENTS** 

	Seats	Votes	% of votes
All	28	2,722,669	100
Punjab	14	1,686,467	62
Sindh	1	399,255	15
Balochistan	1	75,530	3
NWFP	12	561,417	21





### **PARTY SHARE OF VOTERS: ALL PAKISTAN**

	19			90		93	19		20	
	% of	No of								
	Voters	Seats								
PML (N)/IJI	30.16	54	37.37	106	39.86	72	45.88	134	-	=
PML (Q)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26.08	77
PM L (N)	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	i	11.44	15
PML (F, J, Z)	1	ı	-	-	-	-	-	ı	2.54	7
PPP/PDA	38.52	93	36.83	44	37.85	86	21.80	18	26.25	61
MMAP	-	ı	-	-	-	-	-	i	11.33	52
JUI (F)	1.84	7	2.94	6	2.4	4	1.61	2	-	-
MQM	5.37	13	5.54	15			3.55	12	3.12	13
ANP	2.09	2	1.68	6	1.67	3	2.31	9	1.24	ı
JWP/BNA	0.36	2	0.61	2	0.27	2	0.29	2	0.33	1
BNP		1					0.66	3	0.28	1
PKMAP/PMAI	0.24	0	0.35	1	0.49	3	0.33	0	0.25	-
National Alliance	-	ı	-	-	-	-	-	ı	4.78	13
Others	1.92	6	4.38	5	12.46	21	9.2	2	2.23	5
Independent	19.5	27	10.30	22	7.40	15	14.37	22	9.65	24
Total	100	204	100	207	100	202	100	204	100	269

**Source:** compiled by **Gallup Pakistan** on the basis of data provided by Election Commission of Pakistan.

### **Sweeping the Punjab**

### **PARTY SHARE OF VOTERS: PUNJAB**

	19	88	19	90	19	93	19	97	20	02
	% of Voters	No of Seats								
PML (N)/IJI	37.90	45	49.41	92	45.35	52	58.95	107	-	-
PML (Q)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34.16	67
PM L (N)	-	-	-	ı	1	ı	1	ı	16.28	15
PML (F, J, Z)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.82	3
PPP/PDA	39.80	53	38.63	14	38.67	47	22.12	0	26.78	33
National Alliance									2.76	7
MMAP									5.32	3
IND/OTHERS	22.3	17	11.96	9	15.98	13	18.92	7	12.77	20
Total	100	115	100	115	100	112	100	114	100	269

#### **REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUNJAB 2002**

	No 48 -			itral 147	We 64 -	est - 94		uth - 197
	% of Voters	No of Seats						
2002								
PML (Q)	29.11	6	36.17	26	32.56	14	35.18	21
PML (N)	24.97	2	14.57	7	18.5	4	13.16	2
PML (Others)	0.26	-	2.26	1	1.5	1	0.9	1
PPPP	22.21	2	27.86	11	23.27	5	29.78	15
National Alliance	0.14	ı	1.28	1	5.39	1	4.95	6
MMAP	7.82	1	9.57	3	5.68	-	3.94	=
Others	15.49	5	8.29	4	13.10	6	12.09	5
Total	100	16	100	52	100	31	100	50

**Source:** compiled by **Gallup Pakistan** on the basis of data provided by Election Commission of Pakistan.

# REGIONAL DISTIBUTION OF PUNJAB IN PREVIOUS ELECTIONS

		North 35-46 80-84		57-	ntral -65 -79 131	47- 66-		South 141-150	
		% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats
PPP	1997	27.37	0	22.72	0	15.57	0	24.70	0
PDF	1993		N O	Т	A V A	I L	A B L	E	
PDA	1990	41.14	2	39.80	5	33.88	5	37.73	2
PPP	1988	38.40	6	44.44	36	31.21	8	34.20	3
PML (N	N) 1997	61.90	17	61.83	62	49.54	19	59.50	9
	1993		N O	Т	A V A	I L	A B L	E	
	1990	51.86	15	50.35	55	45.48	15	48.05	7
	1988	38.24	9	40.8	25	30.66	5	36.21	6

### **Sweeping the Sindh**

### **PARTY SHARE OF VOTERS: SINDH**

	19	88	19	90	19	93	19	97	20	02
	% of Voters	No of Seats								
PML (N)/IJI	12.80	0	8.82	3	30.40	10	18.56	9	-	1
PML (Q)	-	ı	•	ı	-	ı	-	-	8.85	4
PML (N)	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	1.26	-
PML (Others)	-	ı	•	ı	-	1	-	-	5.50	4
PPP/PDA	46.54	31	41.81	24	51.68	33	32.08	18	36.74	27
MQM	25.50	13	27.09	15		1	17.91	12	15.32	13
MMAP	-	ı	-	ı	-	ı	-	-	10.76	6
National Alliance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.97	5
IND/OTHERS	15.15	2	22.28	4	17.92	3	31.45	7	10.10	2
Total	100	46	100	46	100	46	100	48	100	61

### **REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SINDH, 2002**

	198 -	nterior) - 217 - 238	218 -	Karachi) - 219 - 258
	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats
2002				
PPPP	45.44	24	18.3	3
PML (Q)	11.88	4	2.43	-
PML (N)	0.78	-	0.43	-
PML (F, Z, J)	8.07	4	0.06	-
MMAP	3.46	1	26.25	5
MQM	4.81	-	37.62	13
National Alliance	15.91	5	0.54	-
IND/ Others	8.94	1	14.37	1
Total	100	39	100	22

**Source:** compiled by **Gallup Pakistan** on the basis of data provided by Election Commission of Pakistan.

# REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SINDH IN PREVIOUS ELECTIONS

		RUR 152-′ 170-′	167	URB 151-16 184-	8-169
		% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats
PPP	1997	41.72	16	13.45	2
PPP	1993	56.82	25	41.11	16
PDA	1990	57.56	22	18.32	2
PPP	1988	67.61	28	17.90	3
PML(N	) 1997	17.41	7	20.79	2
	1993	28.36	3	34.33	7
IJI	1990	9.11	3	8.40	0
	1988	14.17	0	10.21	0
MQM	1997	0.24	0	47.82	12
	1993				
	1990	1.79	1	64.85	14
	1988	2.97	0	56.07	13
IND	1997	19.39	5	4.48	0
	1993	7.63	0	N/A	0
	1990	1.79	1	64.85	14
	1988	2.97	0	50.07	13

### Sweeping the NWFP

### **PARTY SHARE OF VOTERS: NWFP**

	19	88	19	90	19	93	19	97	20	02
	% of Voters	No of Seats								
PML (N)/IJI	27.28	8	23.74	8	22.66	9	37.18	15	-	-
PML (Q)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.76	4
PML (N, J, Z)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.93	-
PPP/PDA	22.54	8	22.51	5	10.73	5	10.13	0	-	-
PPPP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.07	1
PPP (Sherpao)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.95	1
MMAP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	45.04	36
JUI (F)	8.85	3	20.57	4	0	0	7.99	0	-	-
ANP	18.40	2	15.00	6	14.19	3	19.12	9	8.8	-
IND/OTHERS	22.93	3	18.18	3	52.42	9	25.58	1	16.45	5
Total	100	24	100	26	100	26	100	25		47

### **REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NWFP, 2002**

	Val	Peshawar Valley 1 – 13		Hazara 17 - 23		Malakand 28 - 35		hern · 16 · 27	FATA 36 – 47	
	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats
2002										
MMAP	57.19	12	25.46	3	50.17	7	51.12	7	30.88	7
PML (Q)	1.11	ı	34.09	4	9.73	-	15.36	-	0.35	ı
PML (N)	2.76	ı	14.18	ı	1.24	-	2.41	-	0.31	-
PPPP	9.39	ı	3.48	ı	14.61	1	13.73	-	0.54	-
PPP (Sherpao)	5.56	1	-	ı	5.91	-	1.07	-	0.2	-
Others	24.89	ı	22.79		18.34		16.31	-	67.72	5
Total	100	13	100	7	100	8	100	7	100	12

**Source:** compiled by **Gallup Pakistan** on the basis of data provided by Election Commission of Pakistan.

# REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NWFP IN PREVIOUS ELECTIONS

		PESHAWAR VALLEY 1-8		HAZ	ARA		KAND -26	SOUT 9- 18-	10
		% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats
PP	1997	17.26	0	2.41	0	22.45	0	1.34	0
PPP	1993		N O	Т	A V A	IL.	A B L	E	
PDA	1990	25.43	0	8.22	0	30.67	3	24.20	2
PPP	1988	33.99	5	12.84	0	34.05	3	4.56	0
PML(N	) 1997	7.11	0	60.01	6	36.34	5	48.52	3
	1993		N O	Т	A V A	I L	A B L	Е	
IJI	1990	5.15	7	N/A	N/A	13.44	1	5.22	1
	1988	18.82	0	30.53	4	32.77	2	32.51	2
ANP	1997	52.52	7	N/A	0	13.44	1	5.22	1
	1993		N O	Т	A V A	IL.	A B L	E	
	1990	41.16	6	N/A	0	1.66	0	N/A	0
	1988	38.47	2	0.85	0	17.38	0	6.07	0
JUI(F)	1997	8.21	0	4.84	0	4.84	0	13.69	0
	1993		N O	Т	A V A	I L	A B L	E	
	1990	23.84	1	9.02	2	14.73	0	33.11	1
	1988	3.68	1	1.61	0	6.93	0	26.64	2

### **REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF NWFP**

			AWAR LEY -8	HAZ	ARA		KAND -26
		% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats	% of Voters	No of Seats
PPP	1997	15.99	0	7.91	0	5.33	0
PPP	1993						
PDA	1990	33.50	1	8.09	0	12.54	1
PPP	1988	10.70	0	9.51	1	5.12	0
PML(N	) 1997	23.12	1	16.06	1	13.07	1
	1993						
IJI	1990	1.34	0	14.11	1	14.07	1
	1988	19.20	0	17.26	0	23.12	2
JWP	1997						
BNA	1990	9.50	0	6.14	0	26.11	2
	1988	11.20	0	N/A	0	17.05	2
JUI(F)	1997	17.11	0	33.37	2	7.65	3
	1993						
	1990	30.14	0	35.43	1	9.80	1
	1988	20.52	1	34.46	2	9.22	1
PKMAF	P 1997	12.94	0	19.20	0	2.42	0
	1993						
PMAI	1990	14.35	0	29.14	1	1.21	0
	1988	11.33	0	17.60	0	2.13	0
PNP	1993						
	1990	N/A	0	1.08	0	21.73	2
	1988	10.31	0	0.76	0	14.73	0

### **Sweeping the Balochistan**

### **PARTY SHARE OF VOTERS: BALOCHISTAN**

	19	88	199	90	199	93	199	97	200	)2
	% of Voters	No of Seats								
PML (N)/IJI	21.01	2	12.00	2	7.47	0	N/A	3	-	-
PML (Q)	•	i	-	ı	-	ı	-	ı	16.38	2
PML (N)	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.53	=
PPP/PDA	7.19	1	15.00	2	18.23	1	N/A	0	9.73	-
MMAP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19.17	6
JUI (F)	17.22	4	18.82	2	10.1	2	N/A	2	-	-
JWP/BNA	11.97	2	18.60	2	8.14	1	N/A	2	10.11	1
BNP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.45	1
National Alliance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8.96	1
PKMAP/PMAI	7.46	0	10.08	1	14.3	3	N/A	0	6.06	-
IND/OTHERS	35.15	2	25.50	2	41.76	4	N/A	4	21.63	1
Total	100	11	100	11	100	11	N/A	11	100	12

### **TURNOUT RATES**

	1985	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
All Pakistan	53.69	43.07	45.46	40.28	35.06	41.41
Punjab	60	47	50	47	39	46.32
Sindh	44	42	43	28	31	36.79
NWFP	41	34	36	35	29	33.22
Balochistan	37	26	29	25	22	27.2

### A list of first time winners in the National Assembly, 2002

NA-2	Arbab Saadullah Khan	ANP	NA-106	Mian Khursheed Mohmood Kasuri	PML(N)
NA-4	Wali Mohammad Khan	ANP	NA-107	Ch. Muhammad Hanif Khan	PML(N)
NA-6	Haji Haseem-ur- Rehman	ANP	NA-114	Haji Sikandar Hayat Bosan	PML(N)
NA-9	Javed Ibrahim Paracha	ANP	NA-117	Ghulam Qasim Khan	PML(N)
NA-10	Shams-ur-Rahman	ANP	NA-123	Majeeda Begum Wyne	PML(N)
NA-16	Mohammad Nawaz khan	PML(N)	NA-133	Sardar Imtiaz Ahmed Khan Leghari	IND
NA-17	Aunngzeb	IND	NA-134	Sardar Nasrullah Khan Dreshak	IND
NA-18	Alhaj Sardar Umer Farook Khan	PML(N)	NA-135	Jamil Ahmed Hussain Bukhari	PML(N)
NA-22	Shujaat Ali Khan	PML(N)	NA-137	Malik Ghulam Muhammad Noor Rabbani Khar	PML(N)
NA-25	Inyat Khan	PML(N)	NA-138	Mian Ghulam Abbas Qureshi	PML(N)
NA-26	Alhaj Muhammad Khan	PML(N)	NA-139	Malik Ghulam haider thind	PML(N)
NA-29	Syed Munir Said	IND	NA-148	Makhdoom Imad-ud-din	PML(N)
NA-30	Muhammad Dindar	IND	NA-152	Ali Muhamad khan	PPP
NA-31	Mulana noor Muhamamd	IND	NA-153	Khalid Ahmed Khan Lund	PPP
NA-47	Adnan Hayat Noor	PML(N)	NA-155	Ghous Bux Khan Mehar	IND
NA-48	Ch. Ghias Ahmed Mela	PML(N)	NA-159	Asghar Ali Shah	PML(N)
NA-49	Ch. Abdul Hameed	PML(N)	NA-160	Syed shoukat Hussain Shah	PML(N)
NA-51	Malik Umer Aslam	PML(N)	NA-163	Pir syed Fazal Ali Shah	PPP
NA-53	Muhammad Maqbool Ahmed Khan	PML(N)	NA-168	Tariq javed	MQM
NA-54	Inam Ullah Khan	PML(N)	NA-173	Dr. Fahmida Mirza	PPP
NA-55	Muhamamd Asghar Kahn		NA-175	Pir Noor Mohd. Shah jilani	PML(N)
NA-58	Rai Salahuddin	PML(N)	NA-177	Mohd. Suleman Bhalal	PPP(SB)
NA-60	Safdar-ur-Rahman	PML(N)	NA-180	Haji Per Bux	IND
NA-61	Mian Muhammad farooq	PML(N)	NA-187	Mohd. Farooq Ahmed	MQM
NA-65	Mian Abdul Manan	PML(N)	NA-188	Hasan Musana Alvi	MQM
NA-66	Zafar Ahmed Shaikh	IND	NA-192	Ajaz Mahmood	MQM
NA-68	Nawab Aman Ullah Khan Sial	IND	NA-193	Dr. Nishat Malik	MQM
NA-70	Sahibzada Muhammad Tahir Sultan	PML(N)	NA-194	Mohd. Arif Khan	MQM
NA-73	Haji Syed Maulvi Abdullah	PML(N)	NA-195	Sheikh Liaqat Hussain	MQM
NA-80	Ch. Mubasher Hussain	PML(N)	NA-196	Mohd farrukh Naeem Siddiqu	MQM
NA-84	Muhammad Iqbal Bosal	PML(N)	NA-197	Mir Atif Ali Sanjrahi	PML(N)
NA-88	Ch. Sikandar Hayat Malhi	PML(N)	NA-199	Sardar Mohd Yaqoob Khan Nasir	PML(N)
NA-91	Daniyal Aziz	IND	NA-203	Mir faridullah Khan	IND
NA-92	Mian Mohammad Azhar	PML(N)	NA-204	Muhammad Akhter	BNP
NA-94	Tariq Aziz	PML(N)	NA-207	Shakeel Ahmed Advocate	BNP
NA-97	Muhammad Ishaq Dar	PML(N)			
NA-99	Sardar Kamil Umar	PML(N)			
NA-102	Mahmood Akbar Khan	PML(N)			

### TURNOUT RATIO Election 2002

Seat No.	Seat Name	Registered Voters	Cast Votes	Turn out
NA-1	Peshawar-I	233907	67194	28.73
NA-2	Peshawar-II	216587	57413	26.51
NA-3	Peshawar-III	229063	70523	30.79
NA-4	Peshawar-IV	222276	65742	29.58
NA-5	Nowshera-I	209093	76753	36.71
NA-6	Nowshera-II	194856	68345	35.07
NA-7	Charsadda-I	242467	91310	37.66
NA-8	Charsadda-II	216993	64362	29.66
NA-9	Mardan-I	221113	79062	35.76
NA-10	Mardan-II	223817	88923	39.73
NA-11	Mardan-III	223487	73946	33.09
NA-12	Swabi-I	236270	88158	37.31
NA-13	Swabi-II	237950	87172	36.63
NA-14	Kohat	317082	95469	30.11
NA-15	Karak	251508	96708	38.45
NA-16	Hangu	160987	45935	28.53
NA-17	Abbottabad-I	284297	112404	39.54
NA-18	Abbottabad-II	323694	117174	36.2
NA-19	Haripur	453508	207910	45.84
NA-20	Manshera-I	316008	120390	38.1
NA-21	Mansehra-II	321984	104957	32.6
NA-22	Batgram	139983	46211	33.01
NA-23	Kohistan	251512	38151	15.17
NA-24	D I Khan	260689	112494	43.15
NA-25	D I Khan-cum-Tank	278188	117156	42.11
NA-26	Bannu	297451	113679	38.22
NA-27	Lakki Marwat	234619	108449	46.22
NA-28	Bunair	269067	74889	27.83
NA-29	Swat-I	314521	99236	31.55
NA-30	Swat-II	315636	95007	30.1
NA-31	Shanglapar	223483	59718	26.72
NA-32	Chitral	170954	82959	48.53
NA-33	Upper Dir	230952	73783	31.95
NA-34	Lower Dir	327902	91283	27.84
NA-35	Malakand	206496	70999	34.38
NA-36	Tribal Area-1	108081	25023	23.15
NA-37	Tribal Area-II	138559	41871	30.22
NA-38	Tribal Area-III	95484	16937	17.74
NA-39	Tribal Area-IV	97620	28475	29.17
NA-40	Tribal Area-V	96478	28470	29.51
NA-41	Tribal Area-VI	86697	26862	30.98
NA-42	Tribal Area-VII	122374	31114	25.43
NA-43	Tribal Area-VIII	228278	54644	23.94
NA-44	Tribal Area-IX	131926	29218	22.15
NA-45	Tribal Area-X	91361	19923	21.81
NA-46	Tribal Area-XI	80422	16707	20.77
NA-47	Tribal Area-XII	120872	34802	28.79
NA-48	Islamabad-I	187426	88112	47.01
NA-49	Islamabad-II	196177	108490	55.3
NA-50	Rawalpindi-I	358818	171421	47.77
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Seat No.	Seat Name	Registered Voters	Cast Votes	Turn out
NA-51	Rawalpindi-II	345475	179311	51.9
NA-52	Rawalpindi-III	306853	149999	48.88
NA-53	Rawalpindi-IV	291549	148542	50.95
NA-54	Rawalpindi-V	209619	83778	39.97
NA-55	Rawalpindi-VI	254943	103474	40.59
NA-56	Rawalpindi-VII	231962	84280	36.33
NA-57	Attock-I	243306	105729	43.46
NA-58	Attock-II	274639	156440	56.96
NA-59	Attock-III	472544	265196	56.12
NA-60	Chakwal-I	386932	200060	51.7
NA-61	Chakwal-II	358593	197419	55.05
NA-62	Jhelum-I	580158	301340	51.94
NA-63	Jhelum-II	194278	147278	75.81
NA-64	Sargodha-I	329423	164472	49.93
NA-65	Sargodha-II	287545	133249	46.34
NA-66	Sargodha-III	282701	126500	44.75
NA-67	Sargodha-IV	305379	150036	49.13
NA-68	Sargodha-V	307801	157563	51.19
NA-69	Khushab-I	274728	152559	55.53
NA-70	Khushab-II	256511	144884	56.48
NA-71	Mianwali-I	307223	142783	46.48
NA-72	Mianwali-II	312785	14783	4.73
NA-73	Bhakkar-I	269306	168463	62.55
NA-74	Bhakkar-II	290180	17890	6.17
NA-75	Faisalabad-l	297374	133392	44.86
NA-76	Faisalabad-II	291362	134156	46.04
NA-77	Faisalabad-III	277749	130611	47.02
NA-78	Faisalabad-IV	311445	137373	44.11
NA-79	Faisalabad-V	310492	144782	46.63
NA-80	Faisalabad-VI	280902	127953	45.55
NA-81	Faisalabad-VII	281593	127046	45.12
NA-82	Faisalabad-VIII	266138	106458	40
NA-83	Faisalabad-IX	282919	106375	37.6
NA-84	Faisalabad-X	257162	90862	35.33
NA-85	Faisalabad-XI	288614	112857	39.1
NA-86	Jhang-I	252313	129033	51.14
NA-87	Jhang-II	261341	129884	49.7
NA-88	Jhang-III	328321	154421	47.03
NA-89	Jhang-IV	244542	115109	47.07
NA-90	Jhang-V	230982	119035	51.53
NA-91	Jhang-VI	261795	140230	53.56
NA-92	T.T.Singh-I	318208	166703	52.39
NA-93	T.T.Singh-II	309393	160496	51.87
NA-94	T.T.Singh-III	344077	174115	50.6
NA-95	Gujranwala-I	247002	83314	33.73
NA-96	Gujranwala-II	248268	91508	36.86
NA-97	Gujranwala-III	248771	93168	37.45
NA-98	Gujranwala-IV	285993	135681	47.44
NA-99	Gujranwala-V	284193	133844	47.1
NA-100	Gujranwala-VI	280754	138773	49.43
NA-101	Gujranwala-VII	302628	148420	49.04
NA-102	Hafizabad-I	221662	114729	51.76
NA-103	Hafizabad-II	206486	110254	53.4
NA-104	Gujrat-I	303985	157963	51.96
			Continue	

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Seat No.	Seat Name	Registered Voters	Cast Votes	Turn out
NA-105	Gujrat-II	292310	141481	48.4
NA-106	Gujrat-III	319747	165521	51.77
NA-107	Gujrat-IV	308463	163310	52.94
NA-108	M.B.Din-I	363575	178810	49.18
NA-109	M.B.Din-II	362887	163369	45.02
NA-110	Sialkot-I	247536	106071	42.85
NA-111	Sialkot-II	-	-	-
NA-112	Sialkot-III	324531	158882	48.96
NA-113	Sialkot-IV	344117	146742	42.64
NA-114	Sialkot-V	342003	163030	47.67
NA-115	Narowal-I	237486	104841	44.15
NA-116	Narowal-II	264030	112030	42.43
NA-117	Narowal-III	226808	104828	46.22
NA-118	Lahore-I	243707	71168	29.2
NA-119	Lahore-II	280155	76772	27.4
NA-119	Lahore-III	232800	72589	31.18
NA-120	Lahore-IV	256605	82083	31.18
NA-121	Lahore-V	279245	87556	31.35
NA-122	Lahore-VI	263297	67750	25.73
NA-123	Lahore-VII	255757	77548	30.32
NA-124 NA-125	Lahore-VIII	255737	76760	30.32
	Lahore-IX			31.74
NA-126		271325	86115	
NA-127	Lahore-X	237065	79862	33.69
NA-128	Lahore-XI	244140	98303	40.27
NA-129	Lahore-XII	211530	80988	38.29
NA-130	Lahore-XIII	232372	86196	37.09
NA-131	Sheikhupura-I	257446	108505	42.15
NA-132	Sheikhupura-II	251788	101162	40.18
NA-133	Sheikhupura-III	230454	91360	39.64
NA-134	Sheikhupura-IV	247581	113878	46
NA-135	Sheikhupura-V	248480	116850	47.03
NA-136	Sheikhupura-VI	268674	124652	46.4
NA-137	Sheikhupura-VII	279668	128789	46.05
NA-138	Kasur-I	245303	119615	48.76
NA-139	Kasur-II	266294	103177	38.75
NA-140	Kasur-III	263273	123395	46.87
NA-141	Kasur-IV	256425	110862	43.23
NA-142	Kasur-V	234431	111663	47.63
NA-143	Okara-I	243777	120828	49.56
NA-144	Okara-II	231670	102391	44.2
NA-145	Okara-III	241786	111944	46.3
NA-146	Okara-IV	248891	115673	46.48
NA-147	Okara-V	266142	132745	49.88
NA-148	Multan-I	284014	127015	44.72
NA-149	Multan-II	316900	88245	27.85
NA-150	Multan-III	287894	79351	27.56
NA-151	Multan-IV	272267	109155	40.09
NA-152	Multan-V	279550	112397	40.21
NA-153	Multan-VI	301449	67249	22.31
NA-154	Lodhran-l	325493	176804	54.32
NA-155	Lodhran-II	328640	177000	53.86
NA-156	Khanewal-I	291062	153314	52.67
NA-157	Khanewal-II	303984	137836	45.34

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Seat No.	Seat Name	Registered Voters	Cast Votes	Turn out
NA-158	Khanewal-III	290329	152892	52.66
NA-159	Khanewal-IV	297622	162667	54.66
NA-160	Sahiwal-I	263042	113490	43.15
NA-161	Sahiwal-II	270851	127655	47.13
NA-162	Sahiwal-III	270096	131310	48.62
NA-163	Sahiwal-IV	259416	130717	50.39
NA-164	Pakpattan-I	230030	117487	51.07
NA-165	Pakpattan-II	244602	119794	48.98
NA-166	Pakpattan-III	249043	124446	49.97
NA-167	Vehari-I	305556	142812	46.74
NA-168	Vehari-II	277169	144622	52.18
NA-169	Vehari-III	266084	143831	54.05
NA-170	Vehari-IV	285486	144774	50.71
NA-171	D.G.Khan-I	314919	141587	44.96
NA-172	D.G.Khan-II	305066	111703	36.62
NA-173	D.G.Khan-III	282633	113003	39.98
NA-174	Rajanpur-I	305453	116843	38.25
NA-175	Rajanpur-II	292109	119653	40.96
NA-176	Muzaffargarh-I	259766	134173	51.65
NA-177	Muzaffargarh-II	255321	140962	55.21
NA-178	Muzaffargarh-III	273899	127206	46.44
NA-179	Muzaffargarh-IV	259395	142280	54.85
NA-180	Muzaffargarh-V	257432	137971	53.6
NA-181	Layyah-I	275563	158907	57.67
NA-182	Layyah-II	303784	177812	58.53
NA-183	Bahawalpur-I	271891	114088	41.96
NA-184	Bahawalpur-II	277578	116847	42.1
NA-185	Bahawalpur-III	274790	103142	37.53
NA-186	Bahawalpur-IV	287829	141588	49.19
NA-187	Bahawalpur-V	264580	133578	50.49
NA-188	Bahawalnagar-I	289582	130219	44.97
NA-189	Bahawalnagar-II	271965	122361	44.99
NA-190	Bahawalnagar-III	281254	142033	50.5
NA-191	Bahawalnagar-IV	303421	155347	51.2
NA-192	R.Y.Khan-I	345937	137640	39.79
NA-193	R.Y.Khan-II	280047	117468	41.95
NA-194	R.Y.Khan-III	300057	138861	46.28
NA-195	R.Y.Khan-IV	262927	115707	44.01
NA-196	R.Y.Khan-V	256278	117564	45.87
NA-197	R.Y.Khan-VI	265809	129528	48.73
NA-198	Sukkur-I	238761	83879	35.13
NA-199	Sukkur-II	286117	110853	38.74
NA-200	Ghotki-I	281655	112545	39.96
NA-201	Ghotki-II	285581	109059	38.19
NA-202	Shikarpur-I	254942	96443	37.83
NA-203	Shikarpur-II	227629	89656	39.39
NA-204	Larkana-I	275041	72296	26.29
NA-205	Larkana-II	272435	66492	24.41
NA-206	Larka	275346	71964	26.14
NA-207	Larkana-IV	252041	95004	37.69
NA-208	Jacobabad-I	252842	73535	29.08
NA-209	Jacobabad-II	-	-	-
NA-210	Jacobabad-III	288396	136651	47.38

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Seat No.	Seat Name	Registered Voters	Cast Votes	Turn out
NA-211	NausheroFeroze-I	329798	131549	39.89
NA-212	NausheroFeroze-II	324754	141805	43.67
NA-213	Nawabshah-I	330639	131535	39.78
NA-214	Nawabshah-II	305810	113192	37.01
NA-215	Khairpur-I	302490	116030	38.36
NA-216	Khairpur-II	301400	126434	41.95
NA-217	Khairpur-III	290832	110638	38.04
NA-218	Hyderabad-I	276462	113224	40.95
NA-219	Hyderabad-II	236225	72538	30.71
NA-220	Hyderabad-III	273607	91718	33.52
NA-221	Hyderabad-IV	223681	69732	31.17
NA-222	Hyderabad-V	262149	94299	35.97
NA-223	Hyderabad-VI	274892	100668	36.62
NA-224	Badin-I	364248	141146	38.75
NA-225	Badin-II	297293	111358	37.46
NA-226	Mirpurkhas-I	-	-	-
NA-227	Mirpurkhas-II	259929	110090	42.35
NA-228	Mirpurkhas-III	261464	113335	43.35
NA-229	Tharparkar-I	250983	124860	49.75
NA-230	Tharparkar-II	-	-	-
NA-231	Dadu-I	340793	123275	36.17
NA-232	Dadu-II	277302	103402	37.29
NA-233	Dadu-III	329858	116415	35.29
NA-234	Sanghar-I	-	-	-
NA-235	Sanghar-II	230238	104910	45.57
NA-236	Sanghar-III	290977	133094	45.74
NA-237	Thatta-I	329639	122282	37.1
NA-238	Thatta-II	286897	119026	41.49
NA-239	Karachi-I	228031	75610	33.16
NA-240	Karachi-II	222359	87336	39.28
NA-241	Karachi-III	201562	74558	36.99
NA-242	Karachi-IV	221227	86724	39.2
NA-243	Karachi-V	250670	94001	37.5
NA-244	Karachi-VI	236700	88848	37.54
NA-245	Karachi-VII	255754	103587	40.5
NA-246	Karachi-VIII	261736	97969	37.43
NA-247	Karachi-IX	243006	88326	36.35
NA-248	Karachi-X	225470	72594	32.2
NA-249	Karachi-XI	250626	86581	34.55
NA-250	Karachi-XII	205400	60236	29.33
NA-251	Karachi-XIII	210491	77764	36.94
NA-252	Karachi-XIV	222482	73770	33.16
NA-253	Karachi-XV	251489	80804	32.13
NA-254	Karachi-XVI	230917	80218	34.74
NA-255	Karachi-XVII	246368	101364	41.14
NA-256	Karachi-XVIII	261912	91640	34.99
NA-257	Karachi-XIX	256535	107043	41.73
NA-258	Karachhi-XX	263393	108889	41.34
NA-259	Quetta	310948	73429	23.61
NA-260	Quetta-cum-Chagai-cum-Mastung	369216	76013	20.59
	J I J Jan Jan Jan Hart	5552.0	Continuo	

# Report # 2 Party Share of Voters

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Seat No.	Seat Name	Registered Voters	Cast Votes	Turn out
NA-261	Pishin-cum-Ziarat	291027	74976	25.76
NA-262	KillaAbdullah	-	-	I
NA-263	Loralai	-	-	1
NA-264	Zhob-cum-KillaSaifullah	198124	47798	24.13
NA-265	Sibi-cum-Kolhu-cum-DeraBugti	308704	143006	46.32
NA-266	Nasirabad	493722	133192	26.98
NA-267	Kachhi	230836	80074	34.69
NA-268	Kalat-cum-Mastung	219071	51833	23.66
NA-269	Khuzdar	252902	58463	23.12
NA-270	Awaran-cum-Lasbella	252610	75441	29.86
NA-271	Kharan-cum-Panjgur	198911	66947	33.66
NA-272	Kech-cum-Gwadar	287322	90642	31.55

### **Comparative Data 1985-97**

Seat No.	Seat Name (as of 1993)	TURNOUT RATIO				
		1997	1993	1990	1988	1985
NA001	PESHAWAR-1	0.00	36.91	42.20	38.13	33.97
NA002	PESHAWAR-II	24.70	36.58	40.82	37.17	40.57
NA003	PESHWAR -CUM-NOWESHERA	30.47	35.82	37.97	36.62	42.93
NA004	NOWSHERA	31.32	40.54	41.65	37.77	39.35
NA005	CHARSADDA	25.65	36.11	36.53	30.72	32.67
NA006	MARDAR-1	23.93	34.27	38.43	35.26	33.28
NA007	MARDAN-II	27.93	33.46	34.73	34.09	37.09
NA008	SWABI	32.34	35.33	38.36	39.54	41.65
NA009	KOHAT	36.17	27.38	27.96	26.76	29.84
NA010	KARAK	31.21	35.06	34.51	32.37	37.30
NA011	ABBOTTABAD-CUM-HGARIPUR- I(OLD ABBOTTABAD-1)	31.54	41.97	41.04	37.96	49.17
NA012	ABBOTTABAD-CUM-HGARIPUR- I(OLD ABBOTTABAD-I1)	31.99	39.38	35.29	33.66	52.13
NA013	HARIPUR (OLD ABBOTTABAD-III)	38.92	39.80	42.74	43.47	57.30
NA014	MANSEHRA-1	29.10	38.24	39.66	35.37	42.10
NA015	MANSEHRA-CUM-HARIPUR (OLD MANSEHRA-II)	26.55	26.99	27.58	27.33	37.86
NA016	BATTAGRAM-CUM-MANSEHRA 9OLD MANSEHRA-III)	33.64	39.79	45.59	42.75	33.28
NA017	KOHISTAN	14.16	14.29	17.48	12.26	33.28
NA018	D.I. KHAN-CUM-TANK (OLD D.I. KHAN)	37.90	38.50	42.03	41.02	50.38
NA019	BANNU (OLD BANNU-I)	0.00	29.66	29.52	29.13	54.33
NA020	LAKKI MARWAT-CUM-BANNU (OLD BANNU-II)	34.59	39.06	35.71	35.55	58.60
NA021	SWAT-I	25.88	32.08	34.56	33.00	41.12
NA022	SWAT-II (OLD SWAT-III)	23.82	32.73	34.13	30.59	31.97
NA023	BUNER-CUM-SWAT(OLD SWAT-II)	22.97	28.20	27.93	28.29	32.50
NA024	CHITRAL	39.77	48.67	56.13	51.74	53.14
NA025	DIR	13.87	28.18	23.83	26.49	29.06
NA026	MALAKAND-CUM-DIR	23.52	29.40	34.94	34.56	30.54
NA027	TRIBAL AREA –I (MOHMAND AGENCY)	33.15	47.09		77.17	68.69
NA028	TRIBAL AREA –II (KURRAMAGENCY)	39.44	91.31	87.23	91.53	59.87
NA029	FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREA (OLD TA-III)	31.44	66.12	54.04	72.22	80.98
NA030	TRIBAL AREA-IV (N.W. AGENCY)	41.59	74.04	69.85	76.82	62.50
NA031	TRIBAL AREA – V (S.W. AGENCY)	18.90	88.42	85.71	97.19	
NA032	TRIBAL AREA-VI (BAJARU AGENCY)	58.09	57.44	46.24	78.50	82.84

### ..... Continued

Seat No.	Seat Name (as of 1993)	TURNOUT RATIO				
		1997	1993	1990	1988	1985
NA033	TRIBAL AREA –VI (KHYBER AGENCY)	39.20	71.72	74.61	78.83	80.62
NA034	TRIBAL AREA –VIII (F.R)	28.93	84.43	0.00	80.22	84.38
NA035	THE FEDERAL CAPITAL (OLD FEDERAL CAPITAL)	45.57	57.51	57.30	57.91	60.35
NA036	RAWALPINDI-1	38.04	49.12	52.11	52.73	61.58
NA037	RAWALPINDI – II	43.69	53.06	54.19	53.78	60.50
NA038	RAWALPINDI – III	33.11	46.20	49.78	50.23	41.98
NA039	RAWALPINDI –IV	37.22	50.85	53.79	53.82	48.40
NA040	RAWALPINDI –V	47.68	60.65	62.59	59.99	60.25
NA041	ATTOCK – I	42.05	52.04	540.96	51.83	59.19
NA042	ATTOCK – II	49.53	55.98	56.57	57.81	64.75
NA043	CHAKWAL – I	40.37	54.69	55.85	53.55	63.37
NA044	CHAKWAL – II	47.18	56.17	57.71	53.73	63.21
NA045	JHELUM-I	45.63	57.13	58.88	57.96	62.30
NA046	JHELUM-II	41.43	50.68	53.87	47.51	57.36
NA047	SARGODHA – I	39.17	47.68	46.52	46.65	60.32
NA048	SARGODHA – II	37.99	43.38	46.39	43.12	59.72
NA049	SARGODHA - III	38.47	51.18	50.57	51.53	57.66
NA050	SARGODHA - IV	44.41	53.53	51.51	51.69	67.64
NA051	SARGHDHAR-CUM KHUSAHB	42.64	49.17	49.96	45.68	71.17
NA052	KHUSHAB	43.79	52.28	52.24	49.72	64.99
NA053	MIANWALI-I	38.49	45.85	43.87	40.85	53.02
NA054	MIANWALI-II	45.44	48.80	48.58	49.95	65.34
NA055	BHAKAR-I	50.92	54.81	52.90	57.59	65.34
NA056	BHAKAR-II	53.77	61.07	60.39	57.88	69.05
NA057	FAISALABAD-I	41.93	52.69	55.28	51.41	62.61
NA058	FAISALABAD-II	36.34	43.13	40.40	40.57	60.47
NA059	FAISALABAD-III	30.21	43.21	43.15	39.65	63.29
NA060	FAISALABAD-IV	38.54	46.16	50.18	47.07	61.15
NA061	FAISALABAD-V	41.32	51.52	55.17	53.46	73.39
NA062	FAISALABAD-VI	38.40	48.10	50.55	48.74	59.28
NA063	FAISALABAD-VII	40.65	52.80	57.97	53.61	59.11
NA064	FAISALABAD-VIII	40.15	52.00	55.40	54.20	55.75
NA065	FAISALABAD-XI	39.35	51.71	54.68	54.23	49.6
NA066	JHANG-1	40.09	45.27	45.79	42.80	62.2
NA067	JHANG-II	39.14	42.72	47.69	43.32	60.88
NA068	JHANG-III	40.09	44.70	49.05	49.22	61.05
NA069	JHANG-IV	43.45	47.44	49.75	43.77	70.78
NA070	JHANG-V	41.15	46.74	50.90	48.14	67.68

### ..... Continued

Seat No.	Seat Name (as of 1993)	TURNOUT RATIO				
		1997	1993	1990	1988	1985
NA071	TOBA TEK SINGH-I	43.37	51.60	52.54	51.50	70.06
NA072	TOBA TEK SING-II	43.44	49.65	55.90	55.95	66.01
NA073	TOBA TEK SINGH-III	47.08	55.37	55.35	55.11	66.18
NA074	GUJRANWALA-I	40.93	50.98	55.83	52.83	67.48
NA075	HAFIZABAD (OLD GHJRANWALA- II)	39.45	47.40	46.66	43.26	67.90
NA076	GUJRANWALA-III	32.79	46.72	51.43	50.82	58.63
NA077	GUJRANWALA – IV	36.81	49.51	52.31	50.38	63.49
NA078	GUJRANWALA-V	36.09	52.40	54.74	48.98	66.41
NA079	GUJRANWALA-CUM HAFIZABAD (OLD GUJRANWALA-VI)	42.02	51.47	53.88	48.87	67.89
NA080	GUJRAT-1	43.54	52.73	54.38	50.21	36.15
NA081	GUJRAT-II	40.67	52.32	57.55	52.98	47.22
NA082	GUJRAT-CUM-JHELUM (OLD GUJRAT-III)	42.57	51.81	53.22	50.96	62.16
NA083	MANDI BAHAUDDIN-CUM GUJRAT (OLD GUJRAT-IV)	38.60	43.95	45.55	43.79	58.62
NA084	MANDI BAHAUDDIN (OLD GUJRAT-V)	34.77	38.72	38.24	35.05	49.11
NA085	SIALKOT-I	36.79	5155	51.52	52.56	59.31
NA086	SIALKOT-II	43.78	54.49	55.56	50.90	65.80
NA087	SIALKOT-III	43.83	54.90	55.66	51.74	62.79
NA088	SIALKOT-IV	46.14	55.45	59.77	48.65	66.81
NA089	SIALKOT-CUM-NAROWAL(OLD SIALKOT-V)	35.05	46.85	50.81	46.92	69.79
NA090	NAROWAL-I(OLD SIALKOT-VI)	38.21	47.12	48.59	42.71	61.11
NA091	NAROWAL-II (OLD SIALKOT-VII)	38.50	46.67		84.34	64.74
NA092	LAHORE – 1	29.43	46.81	47.54	44.15	32.62
NA093	LAHORE – II	31.66	47.96	47.15	47.26	43.10
NA094	LAHORE – III	32.99	47.77	52.49	50.37	36.35
NA095	LAHORE – 1V	29.61	43.33	48.47	45.08	37.88
NA096	LAHORE – V	26.84	43.73	48.56	42.91	32.87
NA097	LAHORE – VI	28.35	44.28	47.80	45.98	43.29
NA098	LAHORE – VII	25.83	40.68	43.36	42.77	41.44
NA099	LAHORE – VIII	39.34	50.52	48.72	45.36	63.93
NA100	LAHORE – IX	44.47	54.20	54.70	51.11	63.92
NA101	SHEIKHUPURA-I1	34.97	45.19	47.14	43.71	64.70
NA102	SHEIKHUPURA-II	37.03	47.52	46.51	45.61	59.48
NA103	SHEIKHUPURA-IIII	38.27	46.08	47.66	46.13	65.66
NA104	SHEIKHUPURA-IV	35.70	41.72	43.20	40.23	63.96
NA105	SHEIKHUPURA-V	33.07	37.93	40.41	37.28	55.15
NA106	KASUR-I	37.87	49.16	46.06	45.92	63.96
NA107	KASUR-II	44.87	50.52	50.58	49.27	60.03

### ..... Continued

Seat No.	Seat Name (as of 1993)	TURNOUT RATIO				
		1997	1993	1990	1988	1985
NA108	KASUR-III	39.35	50.06	49.58	45.00	67.74
NA109	KASUR-IV	37.88	47.73	46.37	44.83	63.18
NA110	OKARA-I	41.25	51.11	51.93	51.83	63.21
NA111	OKARA-II	39.67	46.68	45.92	42.65	64.63
NA112	OKARA-III	38.47	43.20	47.09	42.70	67.20
NA113	OKARA-IV	40.55	46.95	51.37	41.05	67.20
NA114	MULTAN-I	41.20	46.59	48.01	42.03	58.79
NA115	MULTAN-II	28.30	39.69	40.58	39.40	48.80
NA116	MULTNA-III	30.90	40.68	40.95	38.82	51.23
NA117	LODHRAN-I (OLD MULTAN-IV)	43.12	52.79	50.97	42.38	67.97
NA118	MULTAN-CUM-LODHRAN)OLD MULTAN-V)	45.72	48.61	47.30	38.10	66.50
NA119	MULTNA-VI	42.48	51.52	48.27	41.47	70.28
NA120	MULTAN -CUM-KHANEWAL	43.54	51.17	52.05	42.69	66.69
NA121	KHANEWAL-I	0.00	44.91	44.69	41.53	68.16
NA122	KHANEWAL-II	39.23	47.67	47.01	42.79	61.02
NA123	KHANEWAL-III	43.51	47.90	54.11	47.65	67.36
NA124	SAHIWAL-I	38.08	47.24	46.99	45.71	56.85
NA125	SAHIWAL-II	39.09	46.57	47.84	46.53	59.73
NA126	SAHIWAL-III	42.68	50.30	52.52	49.44	64.34
NA127	SAHIWAL-IV	38.09	46.38	42.12	43.12	63.57
NA128	PAKPATTAN	34.96	40.11	41.06	40.95	63.06
NA129	VEHARI-I	45.13	50.70	54.72	49.01	71.30
NA130	VEHARI-II	42.96	48.93	49.10	45.62	61.91
NA131	VEHARI-III	42.08	50.41	54.64	48.32	67.08
NA132	D.G. KHAN	35.48	41.06	41.11	35.65	44.14
NA133	D.G. KHAN – CUM – RAJANPUR	35.39	40.61	42.59	35.48	53.05
NA134	RAJANPUR	34.97	40.92	42.35	36.69	60.50
NA135	MUZAFFARGARH-I	47.27	51.86	50.30	42.68	67.20
NA136	MUZAFFARGARH-II	46.85	51.05	51.51	44.25	60.97
NA137	MUZAFFARGARH-III	40.23	46.02	46.99	40.25	62.09
NA138	MUZAFFARGARH-IV	40.25	46.42	46.83	36.69	62.09
NA139	LAYYAH-I	39.32	51.57	50.60	45.91	64.93
NA140	LAYYAH-II	42.92	48.77	49.37	45.11	59.40
NA141	BAHAWALPUR-I	33.62	39.54	39.60	36.30	55.65
NA142	BAHAWALPUR-II	38.51	47.70	47.97	46.10	55.45
NA143	BAHAWALPUR-III	0.00	49.84	52.12	46.54	58.27
NA144	BAHAWALNAGAR-I	39.87	49.44	49.87	44.24	57.04

### ..... Continued

Seat No.	Seat Name (as of 1993)	TURNOUT RATIO							
		1997	1993	1990	1988	1985			
NA145	BAHAWALNAGAR-II	41.07	52.89	54.07	48.18	59.26			
NA146	BAHAWALNAGAR-III	42.16	53.14	54.41	50.55	66.90			
NA147	RAHIM YAR KHAN-I	35.64	37.18	42.70	34.18	61.04			
NA148	RAHIM YAR KHAN -II	37.75	41.66	44.61	40.33	60.24			
NA149	RAHIM YAR KHAN-III	34.55	43.98	45.51	50.42	59.71			
NA150	RAHIM YAR KHAN –IV	36.30	47.14	48.03	45.50	64.65			
NA151	SUKKUR (OLD SUKKUR-I)	24.02	34.60	45.63	43.01	48.64			
NA152	SUKKUR-CUM-GHOTKI (OLD SUKKUR-II)	65.04	42.21	48.07	45.01	49.69			
NA153	GHOTKI (OLD SUKKUR-III)	35.62	42.25	44.19	42.05	60.14			
NA154	SHIKARPUR-I	34.38	35.65	41.25	40.55				
NA155	SHIKARPUR-II	26.00	30.63	38.90	32.43	58.07			
NA156	JACOBABAD-I	17.09	23.45	38.38	29.17	53.06			
NA157	JACOBABAD-II	22.71	23.40	43.23	22.51	58.95			
NA158	NAUSHERO FEROZ-I	31.24	33.13	50.88	38.60	51.21			
NA159	NAUSHERO FEROZ-II	43.66	44.37	52.80	44.86	64.16			
NA160	NAWABSHAH-I	31.58	28.83	41.04	35.51	48.47			
NA161	NAWABSHAH-II	31.66	33.18	36.71	33.16				
NA162	KHAIRPUR (OLD KHAIRPUR-I)	33.31	43.12	45.98	44.74	58.66			
NA163	KHAIRPUR-II	35.23	39.21	42.17	42.05	33.87			
NA164	LARKANA-I	32.50	30.40	39.65	40.75	46.47			
NA165	LARKANA-II	31.86	32.77	38.50	39.18				
NA166	LARKANA-III	30.70	31.22	43.86	39.46	25.32			
NA167	HYDERABAD-I	35.80		40.39	42.61	27.51			
NA168	HYDERABAD-II	33.69	18.60	54.14	58.56	45.97			
NA169	HYDERABAD-III	32.65	15.11	59.87	55.58	42.11			
NA170	HYDERABAD-IV	36.04	30.02	38.49	37.23	41.35			
NA171	HYDERABAD-V	32.91	27.94	45.12	46.44	51.24			
NA172	BADIN-I	27.31	33.39	34.70	33.60	43.60			
NA173	BADIN-II	28.84	31.31	30.95	29.50	37.12			
NA174	MIRPURKHAS (OLD THARPARKAR-I)	34.11	32.04	43.06	44.85	64.26			
NA175	MIRPURKHAS-CUM-UMERKOT (OLD THARPARKAR-II)	35.29	37.11	36.19	35.29	57.27			
NA176	THAR (OLD THARPARKAR-III)	42.98	43.96	49.77	47.12	70.32			
NA177	DADU-I	32.52	27.57	36.08	35.94	51.31			
NA178	DADU-II	28.51	27.38	40.53	40.48	48.89			
NA179	DADU-III	34.56	37.80	42.42	43.02	55.99			
NA180	SANGHAR-I	27.42	33.26	42.43	37.51				
NA181	SANGHAR-II	31.27	34.30	49.69	44.21	45.76			

### ..... Continued

Seat No.	Seat Name (as of 1993)	TURNOUT RATIO					
		1997	1993	1990	1988	1985	
NA182	THATTA-I	28.57	35.73	32.64	34.09	52.12	
NA183	THATTA-II	35.42	40.57	35.73	29.28	54.02	
NA184	KARACHI (WEST) – I	27.24	22.82	37.69	41.81	31.41	
NA185	KARACHI (WEST) – II	28.76	12.11	41.57	43.06	30.97	
NA186	KARACHI (CENTRAL) – I	29.16	13.14	46.71	53.78	37.52	
NA187	KARACHI (CENTRAL) – II	27.03	9.24	52.02	54.43	25.97	
NA188	KARACHI (CENTRAL) – III	31.65	8.78	48.64	55.44	35.24	
NA189	KARACHI (SOUTH) – I	26.38	32.34	36.44	46.06	37.37	
NA190	KARACHI (SOUTH) – II	26.38	23.41	49.93	51.02	40.70	
NA191	KARACHI (SOUTH) – III	26.85	24.97	41.05	47.80	28.82	
NA192	KARACHI (EAST) – I	25.99	19.86	43.67	51.12	30.05	
NA193	KARACHI (EAST) – II	23.79	17.93	44.64	46.69	32.14	
NA194	KARACHI (EAST) – III	28.89	15.21	45.84	48.47	42.08	
NA195	KARACHI (EAST) – IV	26.58	19.58	40.66	45.75	25.81	
NA196	KARACHI (EAST) – V)	26.78	17.12	56.53	55.14	43.31	
NA197	QUETTA-CUM-CHAGHAI	26.58	36.12	35.63	36.44	37.79	
NA198	PISHIN-CUM-KILLA ABDULLAH	19.64	21.44	25.05	21.35	39.48	
NA199	LORALAI-CUM-MUSAKHEL-CUM BARKHAN	23.65	28.39	34.02	29.02	38.78	
NA200	ZOHB-CUM-KILLA SAIFULLAH	14.01	15.84	17.13	14.34	36.09	
NA201	JHAL MAGSI-CUM-BOLAH (KACHHI)	17.08	13.24	30.12	20.85	47.57	
NA202	SIBI-CUM-DEAR BUGTI – CUM KOHLU-CUM-ZIARAT	24.01	20.60	39.03	18.40	42.50	
NA203	JAFFARABAD-CUM NASIRABAD	18.81	20.80	22.64	33.39		
NA204	KALAT-CUM-MUSTANG-	21.54	24.70	22.36	21.14	29.00	
NA205	KHUZDAR-CUM-AWARAN	19.32	26.36	27.49	26.21		
NA206	LASBELA-CUM-GAWDAR	28.21	39.84	40.30	35.50	34.48	
NA207	TURBAT-CUM-PANGUR	29.69	27.06	31.82	26.50	31.22	

Report # 3	
	A study on VOTING PATTERN IN SINDH 1988 - 2002

#### A STUDY ON VOTING PATTERN IN SINDH

Party share of vote in Sindh during National Assembly Election 2002

### 1- VOTING PATTERN IN SINDH IN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2002

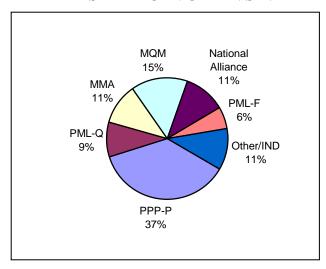
In the 2002 Elections **Peoples Party** emerged on top in the Sindh province with 37% of the vote, followed by **MQM** (15%), **MMA** (11%), **National Alliance** (11%), **PML-Q** (9%), **PML-F** (6%).

**National Alliance** vote was almost exclusively in Interior Sindh. It scored 16% in Interior Sindh and less than 1% in Urban Sindh\* (Karachi/Hyderabad).

In contrast **MQM** scored mostly in Urban Sindh where it scored 37% of the vote. Its share in Interior Sindh was only 5%.

MMA vote was also mostly restricted to Urban Sindh where it scored 27% of the vote. In Interior Sindh its vote share was only 4%. PPP scored very high in Interior Sindh 45% but had only modest share in Urban Sindh where it scored 18% of the vote.

#### PARTY SHARE OF VOTE IN SINDH



**Source:** Compiled by Gallup Pakistan on the basis of Election Commission data

### Voting Pattern in Sindh in National Assembly Elections 2002

PPP-P MQM MMA National Alliance PML-Q PML-F Independents/Others **Total** 

All Sindh			
%	Number of		
votes	seats		
37%	27		
15%	13		
11%	6		
11%	5		
9%	4		
6%	4		
11%	2		
100%	61		

Urban				
(Karachi	i/Hyderabad)			
%	Number of			
votes	seats			
18%	3			
38%	13			
27%	5			
1%	-			
2%	-			
*	-			
14%	1			
100%	22			

Rural				
(Res	t of Sindh)			
%	Number of			
votes	seats			
45%	24			
5%	-			
4%	1			
16%	5			
12%	4			
8%	4			
10%	1			
100%	39			

Urban Sindh refers to the National Assembly seats in Karachi and Hyderabad. The rest of Sindh is referred to as Rural Sindh.

# 2- VOTING TRENDS IN SINDH DURING THE LAST FIVE ELECTIONS 1988 - 2002

The data show interesting trends in voting behaviour over the last five elections since 1988. In Interior Sindh the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) has continued to stay on top. But its share of vote has declined from 68% in 1988 to 45% in the latest election.

Table 1

Interior Sindh

	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
PPP	68%	58%	57%	42%	45%
PML/IJI	14%	9%	28%	17%	21%*
Independent/Others	18%	33%	15%	41%	34%

<sup>\*</sup> PML-Q (12%), PML-F (8%), PML-N (1%)

Figure 1 **PPP Vote in Rural Sindh** 



<sup>\*</sup> Less than 1%

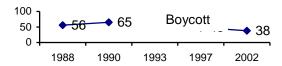
In Urban Sindh MQM has continued to stay on top. But its share of vote has also declined from 56% in 1988 (which peaked at 65% in 1990) to 38% in 2002. MMA emerged as a major competitor in Urban Sindh and scored 28% of the 2002 Elections.

Table 2 URBAN SINDH

	1988	1990	1993	1997	2002
MQM	56%	65%	Boycott	48%	38%
PPP	18%	18%	41%	14%	18%
PML/IJI	10%	8%	34%	21%	3%
MMA	-	-	-	-	26%*

<sup>\*</sup> PML-Q, PML-F, PML-N, MMA was formed in 2002

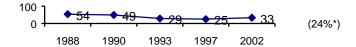
Figure 2
MQM VOTE IN URBAN SINDH



### 3- CHANGING PATTERNS OF PARTY DOMINANCE\* PEOPLES PARTY IN INTERIOR SINDH

It is interesting to note that the edge of PPP over the runner up in Interior Sindh reflecting dominance of the party has changed over time. It steadily declined from 1988 to 1997 but rose again in 2002.

Figure 3 **PPPs edge over Runner up in Interior Sindh** 



<sup>\*</sup> If Runner up is taken as the combined vote of PML-Q, PML-F and PML-N then the edge is 24%

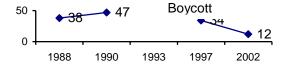
<sup>\*</sup> Party edge in this section refers to the percentage point difference in the percent of votes polled by the winner and the runner up.

### **MQM IN URBAN SINDH**

The edge of MQM over the runner up party in Urban Sindh has declined from its peak of 1990 when it was 47% points ahead of the runner up to considerably less in the 2002 elections when it is only 12% point ahead of the runner up or next largest party.

Figure 4

MQM edge over Runner up in Urban Sindh



### Report # 4



# WHO VOTED FOR WHOM ON OCTOBER 10, 2002



Findings from an **Exit Poll Survey** 

October 19, 2002

#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The findings from an Exit Poll Survey designed by Pakistani pollster Bilal Hassan Khan and carried out by Gallup Pakistan and released here today by the Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT) show that the Pakistani electorate chose a tripartite parliament in its latest national election held on October 10. The three leading parties in the parliament including Muslim League (Q), Pakistan Peoples Party and MMA, the alliance of Religious parties, have successfully attracted a cross section of voters with a certain regional concentration. PPP came up with a stronghold in the Sindh province, Muslim League in Punjab and the Religious alliance MMA in NWFP and Balochistan provinces. The Exit Poll shows that the Religious alliance and the Independent candidates attracted a disproportionately higher number of the new voters in the age group 18-21 and the better educated with high school or higher education specifically in NWFP and Balochistan. On the other hand, the Muslim League and the PPP did proportionately better among the illiterate and the very poor rural voters. The MMA and Independents performed better among men than women; while PPP experienced a slight advantage among the women voters.

The survey further showed that more than 99% of the voters claimed they had shown their National Identification Card to the Election Officers conducting the election and their thumb had been marked with indelible ink to the prevent double voting.

The survey was conducted in approximately 5000 voters selected statistically from voters at the male and female polling booths spread over more than 60 districts representing all the four provinces of Pakistan and various regions. The field work was conducted face to face on Election Day, October 10, from the start to end of polling.

The exit poll was supervised by a team of scholars and analysts. Bilal Hasan Khan, a notable pollster, was responsible for designing the sampling, questionnaire and other research methodology. Further analysis of the data will be done at a later stage for the benefit of students and scholars of Pakistani politics.

#### **FINDINGS**

Pakistani voters have elected a tri-partite parliament divided between Muslim League, Peoples Party and MMA, representing an alliance of religious parties. Between the three of them they comprise around three fourths of the parliament. The remaining one quarter is split between smaller regional parties and Independent candidates.

Pildat Exit Poll provides an interesting insight into the profile of the voters attracted by the three leading parliamentary groups, independents and the rest.

An analysis of the profile of voters supporting the leading parties in the new parliament shows that MMA and independents were able to attract a proportionately higher number of new voters in the age group 18 to 21 years. They were also able to attract a proportionately higher number of the better educated and higher income groups. In contrast the Muslim League (Q) which won the largest number of seats mainly from rural Punjab attracted proportionately higher number of voters from low income and lower education backgrounds. There is great similarity between the income, education and age profile of the Peoples Party and PML (Q). But PPP has a notable edge among the very poor. Analysts at Gallup have pointed out that PPP enjoyed this type of edge over the Muslim League in the election held in 1988 but had lost it in the three succeeding elections in 1990, 1993 and 1997, during which the populist appeal by Nawaz Sharif had removed the difference in their appeal to the marginalized and poor. Apparently the 1988 trend has partly reemerged in the election of 2002.

Another interesting shift is in the appeal to younger voters. In the 1988 elections Gallup Exit Poll Surveys showed that PPP had a disproportionately higher score among the young voter. The situation is no longer the same in the 2002 elections. The edge among the young is now seen in the voters of MMA and the independents.

The data suggest that both MMA and Independents were able to attract a larger share of the younger and better-educated voter who expressed their dissatisfaction with the performance of traditional political parties and leaders. Parties able to project themselves as alternatives to the status quo gained substantial new support.

The survey further said that both MMA and Independents did slightly poorer among women than men. But taken on the whole, the three major parliamentary parties gained support from the mainstream of the Pakistani electorate, each attracting substantial numbers of men and women, educated and the illiterate, poor and well to do, young and old. The exit Poll data does not reflect a skewed or strongly partisan support from any distinctive socio economic group for any of the three leading parties in the parliament. According to political analysts this is a healthy sign for the democratic functioning of the parliament.

The tables provided at the end of this press note provide further insight into the socio-economic composition of the voters supporting PML (Q), PPP, MMA, Independents and others.

The Pildat Exit Poll Survey throws some light on the administration of Election Day and the balloting process, notably on the use of indelible ink mark and the use of National Identification card for identification of the voter. More than 99% of the voters sampled in this exit-poll said they had shown their National ID card and their thumb had been marked with indelible ink to prevent the possibility of double voting. Only 15% of the voters said they were concerned that interference on the polling day could hurt the prospects of victory by their favourite candidate. When asked if they felt pressured or morally compelled to vote in a particular way, a vast majority of voters denied any pressure; only 6% responded in the affirmative. However this proportion was higher than the national average, among voters in the NWFP (13%).

The Pildat exit poll included a cross section of voters comprising both men and women and voters from the rural and urban areas in more than 60 statistically selected districts representing all the four provinces of Pakistan and its various regions. The fieldwork was carried out face to face by a team of men and women who interviewed a statistically selected sample of voters. The voters were interviewed outside the polling booth. The error margin for a survey of this kind is estimated to be  $\pm 3\%$  at 95 percent confidence level.

### Voting Among Different Age Groups

According to the Exit Poll 7% of the Voters belonged to age group 18-21 years. The proportion was higher than average for MMA and Independents whose voters included 11% and 15% respectively of the new voters of this age group. The figure is lower than average for PML(Q) and PPP whose total voters included 6% and 5% of young voters.

Table 1

# PROFILE OF VOTERS SUPPORTING LEADING PARTIES IN THE PAKISTANI PARLIAMENT 2002

(Age Composition)

Age Group 18-	21
Age 22-49	
Age 50+	

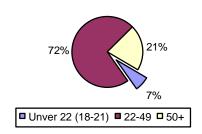
PML(Q)	
6	
73	
21	

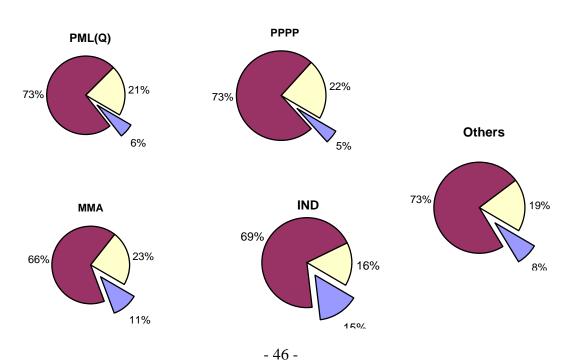
PPP	MMA
5	11
73	66
22	23

IND
15
69
16

Others
8
73
19

#### **ALL VOTERS**





### Voting Among Men and Women

There is a slight difference in the gender composition of the voters of the top three parties. PPP has a slight advantage among women while MMA has a slight disadvantage. The difference is however not very significant.

Table 2

### PROFILE OF VOTERS SUPPORTING LEADING PARTIES IN THE PAKISTANI PARLIAMENT 2002

(Gender Composition)

Men Women

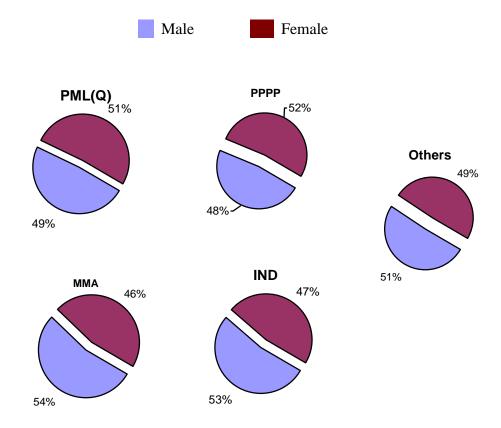
PML(Q)
49
51

PPP	
48	
52	

MMA	
54	
46	
	54

IND
53
47

Others	
51	
49	



# Voting Among Different Education Groups

PPP and PML(Q) have a proportionate edge over MMA among the illiterates whereas the MMA has a proportionate edge over them among those who have high school or more of education.

Table 3

### PROFILE OF VOTERS SUPPORTING LEADING PARTIES IN THE PAKISTANI PARLIAMENT 2002

(Education Composition)

Illiterate Less than High school High school and more

PML(Q)
43
44
13

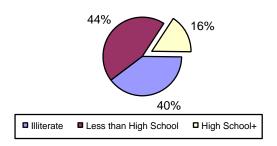
PPP
50
38
12

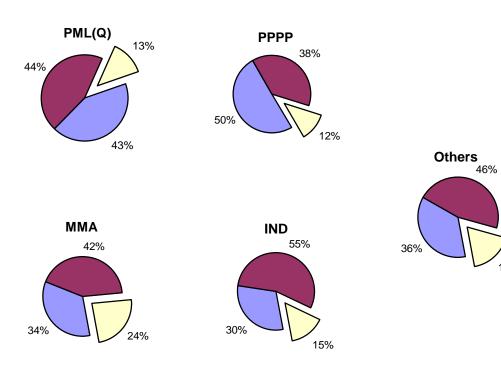
MMA
34
42
24

IND	
30	
55	
15	

Others
36
46
18

#### **ALL VOTERS**





# Voting Among Different Income Groups

PPP and PML(Q) have an advantage over MMA among the very poor, whose reported monthly household income is less than Rs.3000. On the other hand MMA has an advantage over the other two leading parties among households whose monthly household income is more than Rs. 10000.

Table 4

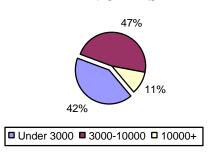
### PROFILE OF VOTERS SUPPORTING LEADING PARTIES IN THE PAKISTANI PARLIAMENT 2002

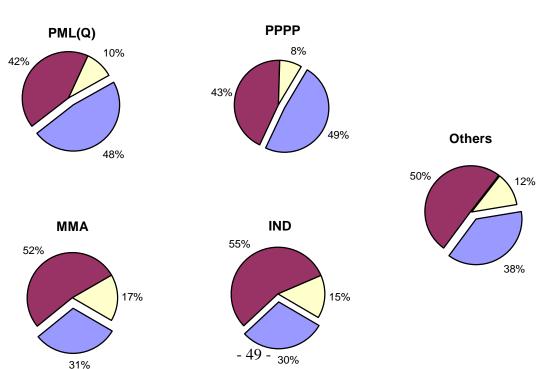
(Income Group Composition)

	PML(Q)	PPP	MMA	IND	Others
Very Poor*	48	49	31	30	38
Lower Middle	42	43	52	55	50
Middle and Higher	10	8	17	15	12

(\* Definitions provided above)

#### **ALL VOTERS**





#### **VOTING AMONG**

### Where Have all The Voters Come From?

#### **Previous Voting Patterns of Current Voters**

More than 70% of the voters of PPP and PML(Q), PML(N) are former voters of their own parties (in the case of PML(Q) and PML(N) they are former voters of the combined PML). In the case of MMA, over 50% voters are former PML voters.

Table 5

# Composition of Voters of various parties by the party for which they had voted in 1997

PPP PML Others

PML(Q)
8
71
21

PPP
79
12
9

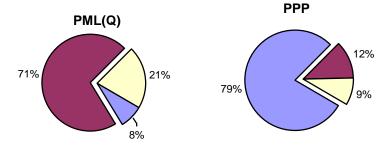
PML(N)
15
75
10

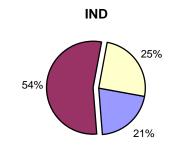
MMA
14
54
24

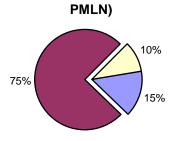
Others

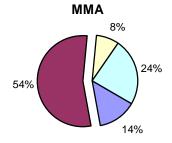












### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

#### **About the survey**

The survey was conducted among a highly scientific sample comprising of 4680 adult men and women chosen from nearly 100 locations of all the four provinces of Pakistan including Islamabad.

The choice of the sample was strictly on the basis of the probability of various provinces in the Census distribution of the population. The rural and urban voters also came out in the same ratio as their share in the population. Similarly voters with respect to the age were in the same ratio as their share in those eligible to vote. The gender distribution also corresponded with their census share. Thus the sample was highly represented in most of the population proportion, age 18 years and above.

In each of the sample location, 50 interviews (25 male and 25 female) were supposed to be conducted at a male and female polling stations respectively. The sampling interval was 15 minutes at each location.

The field work was conducted face to face by a team of men and women on the election day,  $10^{th}$  October 2002. The error margin for the national sample is highly likely to be in the range of  $\pm 2$ -3% approximate at 95% confidence level.

Sample: National probability sample, Rural and Urban, covering all the

four provinces. (except Fata, Chitral and Kohistan)

**Sample Method:** Multi-stage area probability sample\*

**Sample Size:** 4680 men and women

**Sample Proportion Exit Poll** 

	Sample Proportion	Actual Population Proportion	Actual Population Proportion Excluding FATA, Chitral, Kohistan
Punjab including Islamabad <sup>1</sup>	59%	56.20%	57.94%
Sindh	24%	22.97%	23.67%
Baluchistan	5%	4.99%	5.14%
NWFP <sup>2</sup>	12%	15.85%	13.23%
Total	100%	100.01%	100%

<sup>1.</sup> Punjab is slightly over represented mainly due to sampling error and also due to exclusion of FATA, Chitral and Kohistan districts in NWFP. Actual population proportion includes FATA, Chitral and Kohistan.

<sup>2.</sup> NWFP is slightly under represented mainly due to sampling error and also due to exclusion of FATA, Chitral and Kohistan districts in NWFP. Actual population proportion includes FATA, Chitral and Kohistan.

	Sample Proportion	Actual Proportion	Actual Population Proportion Excluding FATA, Chitral, Kohistan
Urban	35%	33%	33.51%
Rural	65%	67%	66.48%

#### Questionnaire

- Q1. Have you cast your vote in National Assembly elections yet today?
  a. Yes
  b. No
  c. No answer

  Q2. Have you cast your vote in Provincial Assembly elections yet today?

  a. Yes
  b. No
  c. No answer
- Q3 In national assembly elections today, which party did you vote for in your constituency?
  - a. PPPP
  - b. PML-N
  - c. PML-Q
  - d. Mutahida Majlish-e- Amal
  - e. ANP
  - f. Tehrik-e-Insaf
  - g. Jamaat-e-Islami
  - h. MQM
  - i. Millat Party
  - j. Independent Candidates
  - k. Haven't decided yet (Go to Q16a)
  - 1. Some other party\_\_\_\_\_
  - m. No answer
- Q4 (a). In Provincial assembly elections today, which party did you vote for in your constituency?
  - a. PPPP
  - b. PML-N
  - c. PML-Q
  - d. Mutahida Majlish-e- Amal
  - e. ANP
  - f. Tehrik-e-Insaf
  - g. Jamaat-e-Islami
  - h. MQM
  - i. Millat Party
  - j. Independent Candidates
  - k. Haven't decided yet (Go to Q16a)
  - 1. Some other party\_\_\_\_\_
  - m. No answer

#### **Elections 2002**

Q4 (b). Would you tell us the reasons which led you to vote for the candidate for whom you have just voted in national assembly elections? (You can choose more than one)

- a. The candidate reflected the same beliefs and opinions as mine
- b. Helpful in personal needs
- c. He promised some favors in return for the vote
- d. I had an inclination towards his/her party
- e. I know the candidate personally
- f. He belongs to my Biradri/clan's
- g. The leader of my Biradri/clan convinced me to vote for that candidate
- h. The leader of my Biradri/clan convinced me to vote for that party
- i. The head of my household convinced me to vote for that particular candidate
- j. My landlord forced me to vote that candidate
- k. Government official forced me to vote that candidate

Q4 ©. Would you tell us the reasons which led you to vote for the candidate for whom you have just voted in provincial assembly elections? (You can choose more than one)

- a. The candidate reflected the same beliefs and opinions as mine
- b. Helpful in personal needs
- c. He promised some favors in return for the vote
- d. I had an inclination towards his/her party
- e. I know the candidate personally
- f. He belongs to my Biradri/clan's
- g. The leader of my Biradri/clan convinced me to vote for that candidate
- h. The leader of my Biradri/clan convinced me to vote for that party
- i. The head of my household convinced me to vote for that particular candidate
- j. My landlord forced me to vote that candidate
- k. Government official forced me to vote that candidate

Q5. Which of the following describes the best your decision to vote for the national assembly candidate you just voted? (Choose only ONE)

- a. I always vote for this party in national assembly elections
- b. I always vote for this candidate/group in national assembly elections
- c. I do not usually vote for one particular party, instead I consider other factors while voting
- d. Not Applicable/Did not vote for the national assembly elections today

Q6. Which of the following describes the best your decision to vote for the provincial assembly candidate you just voted? (Choose only ONE)

a. I always vote for this party in provincial assembly elections

#### **Elections 2002**

Who Voted for Whom

- b. I always vote for this candidate/group in national assembly elections
- c. I do not usually vote for one particular party, instead I consider other factors while voting
- d. Not Applicable/Did not vote for the provincial assembly elections today
- Q7. Would you please tell us if you did or did not vote in the following national assembly elections?

a.	Yes (	Go	tο	08
a.	1 62 (	UU,	w	Q0)

- b. **No** (Go to Q9)
- c. **Don't Remember** (Go to Q9)

1997	1993	1990	1988

Q8. Now please mention which of the following parties did you vote for in respective national assembly elections?

- a. PPP
- b. IJI/PML(N)
- c. Jamiat-e-Islami
- d. MQM
- e. ANP
- f. Independent candidates
- g. Others: \_\_\_\_\_
- h. Don't remember
- i. No answer

1997	1993	1990	1988

Q9. Which political parties are making coalitions in your area/constituency of national assembly? Mention the individual parties with respect to the coalition. (e.g. In some constituencies PPP and PML(N) are making a coalition)

- a. Coalition 1. \_\_\_\_\_b. Coalition 2. \_\_\_\_\_
- c. Coalition 3.

Q10. Are you a member of any political party?

- a. Yes (Go to Q11)
- b. No (Go to Q12)
- c. No answer

Q11. If yes, than which of the following political parties are you a member of?

- a. PPPP
- b. PML-N

- c. PML-Q
- d. Mutahida Majlish-e- Amal
- e. ANP
- f. Tehrik-e-Insaf
- g. Jamaat-e-Islami
- h. MQM
- i. Millat Party
- j. Some other party\_\_\_\_\_
- k. No answer
- Q12. If no, then do you consider yourself connected to some political party?
  - a. Yes (Go to Q13)
  - b. No (Go to Q14)
- Q13. Which of the following political parties do you consider yourself connected to?
  - a. PPPP
  - b. PML-N
  - c. PML-Q
  - d. Mutahida Majlish-e- Amal
  - e. ANP
  - f. Tehrik-e-Insaf
  - g. Jamaat-e-Islami
  - h. MQM
  - i. Millat Party
  - j. Some other party\_\_\_\_\_
  - k. No answer
- Q14. Was any representative of the party you voted for in national assembly elections, present at the polling station?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. No answer
- Q15. Do you think there can be cheating at the polling station against the party you just voted for in nation assembly elections?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. No answer
- Q16. Did the government official present at the polling station force you to vote for any particular candidate/party at the premises of the polling station?
  - a. Yes
  - b. No
  - c. No answer

Q17. Did the government official present at the polling station force you to vote for any particular candidate/party outside the premises of the polling station?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. No answer

Q18. How did you get your identification verified during voting?

- a. Through National Identity card
- b. Through matriculation certificate
- c. Through driving license
- d. Through passport
- e. Others:
- f. Did not get my identification verified

Q19. Is your name registered in the voter list properly?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. No answer

Q20 Was your thumb marked with back ink after you had cast your vote?

- a. Yes
- b. No
- c. No answer

Q21. How long did you have to wait to cast you're your wait?

	1/:
	Minutes

Q22. In your opinion, do the national assembly candidates belonging to following parties, in your constituency, have a graduate or equivalent qualification?

- a. PPPP
- b. PML (N)
- c. PML (Q)
- d. MMA
- e. ANP
- f. MQM
- g. Millat Party

Q23. In your opinion, which of the following are likely to happen after October elections?

- a. Development of my area/ region
- b. A better solution to the public issues
- c. Government institutions' performance will improve
- d. There will be no significant change

YES	NO

Report # 4

#### **Elections 2002**

#### Who Voted for Whom

Q24. In your opinion which party will constitute central government as a result of elections?

- a. PPPP
- b. PML (N)
- c. PML(Q)
- d. Tehrik-e-Insaaf
- e. Millat-Party
- f. MMA
- g. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Q25 In your opinion which party will constitute provincial government in your province as a result of elections?

- a. PPPP
- b. PML (N)
- c. PML(Q)
- d. Tehrik-e-Insaaf
- e. Millat-Party
- f. MMA
- g. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Q26. In your opinion, which party will win national assembly elections in your constituency?

- a. PPPP
- b. PML (N)
- c. PML(Q)
- d. Tehrik-e-Insaaf
- e. Millat-Party
- f. MMA
- g. Independent candidates
- h. Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Q27. How do you describe your financial condition?

- a. Very Good
- b. Good
- c. Satisfactory
- d. Poor
- e. Very poor
- f. DK/NA